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## GERMANY, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE ALLIES

April 20 Germany sent to the United States the following appeal:

BERLIN, April 20, 1921.

In the name of the German Government and the German people, the undersigned, notwithstanding the still existing technical state of war, respectfully petition the President of the United States of America to mediate the reparation question and to fix the sum to be paid by Germany to the allied powers and to eagerly urge him to secure the consent of the allied powers to such mediation.

They solemnly declare that the German Government is ready and willing to agree, without qualification or reservation, to pay to the allied powers as reparation such sum as the President, after examination and investigation, may find just and right. They formally pledge themselves to fulfill in letter and spirit all the provisions of any award that may be made by him.

With abiding faith in the righteousness of this request and with undeniable sincerity of purpose, the German people, through their constituted government, submit their appeal to the President of the United States, with the confident hope that it be granted, to the end that a final award may be made, in accordance with right and justice, to meet the heartfelt wishes of all civilized nations, to avoid the immeasurable consequences of imminent coercive measures, and to promote the peace of the world.

(Signed)

FEHRENBACH.  
SIMONS.

The following day the State Department replied, laconically and impartially, with these words:

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1921.

This government could not agree to mediate the question of reparations with a view to acting as umpire in its settlement.

Impressed, however, with the seriousness of the issues involved, as they affect the whole world, the Government of the United States feels itself to be deeply concerned with the question of obtaining an early and just solution. This government strongly desires that there should be an immediate resumption of negotiations, and reiterates its earnest hope that the German Government will promptly formulate such proposals as would present a proper basis of discussion.

Should the German Government take this course, this government will consider bringing the matter to the attention of the allied governments in a manner acceptable to them in order that negotiations may speedily be resumed.

April 23 Chancellor Fehrenbach and Foreign Minister Simons appealed to the United States again to use its good offices with the Allies in reopening negotiations with the Allies, at the same time making known Germany's refusal to surrender the total metal reserve of the Reichsbank, which demand had come from the Reparations Commission. The next day Germany, using the United States as an intermediary, proposed payment of 50,000,000,000 gold marks flat, without deductions for payments already made. Spread over a period of forty-two years, this would equal an eventual sum of 200,000,000,000 marks. On the 27th the Reparations Commission fixed 132,000,000,000 marks as the damages for which Germany is responsible, under the terms of the treaty.

April 29 the Supreme Council (not of the League), the United States being unrepresented, met in London, with France prepared for, and indeed planning, to begin to use force on May 1, and Great Britain and Italy counseling further postponement of action in the way of taking over German territory, even temporarily and solely for administrative purposes. A compromise was effected and the date of final decision by Germany was set for May 12, Great Britain,

as her part of the compact, agreeing to act naval against Hamburg if France acts with her army.

May 2 the Department of State forwarded to Berlin the following note:

The Government of the United States has received the memorandum left by Dr. Simons with the commissioner of the United States, under date of April 24, relating to reparations. In reply this government states that it finds itself unable to reach the conclusion that the proposals afford a basis for discussion acceptable to the allied governments. This government therefore again, expressing its earnest desire for a prompt settlement of this vital question, strongly urges the German Government at once to make directly to the allied governments clear, definite, and adequate proposals which would in all respects meet its just obligations.

May 4 the Allied Supreme Council decided to invite the United States to send a representative who would sit thereafter as a member of that body as formerly, and also to be represented on the Reparations Commission and the Council of Ambassadors; and on May 5 the State Department was so informed. It also was agreed that should naval as well as military action against Germany become necessary, nothing would be done without consulting the United States, this policy being opportune, in view of American commercial and trading relations with Hamburg and other German ports.

### UNITED STATES ACCEPTS ALLIES' INVITATION

The text of the invitation from the Allies, referred to above, and of Secretary of State Hughes' reply follow:

As President of the allied conference which is just completing its sittings in London, I am authorized, with the unanimous concurrence of all the powers here represented, to express to the United States Government our feeling that the settlement of the international difficulties in which the world is still involved would be materially assisted by the co-operation of the United States; and I am therefore to inquire whether that government is disposed to be represented in the future, as it was at an earlier date, at allied conferences, wherever they may meet, at the Ambassadors' Conference which sits at Paris, and on the Reparations Commission.

We are united in feeling that American cognizance of our proceedings and, where possible, American participation in them will be best facilitated by this.

LLOYD-GEORGE.

The Government of the United States has received through the British Ambassador the courteous communication in which you state that, with unanimous concurrence of the powers represented at the allied conference in London, you are to inquire whether this government is disposed to be represented in the future, as it was in the past, at allied conferences, at the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris, and on the Reparations Commission.

The Government of the United States, while maintaining the traditional policy of abstention from participation in matters of distinctly European concern, is deeply interested in the proper economic adjustments and in the just settlement of the matters of world-wide importance which are under discussion in these conferences, and desires helpfully to co-operate in the deliberations upon these questions.

Mr. George Harvey, appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, will be instructed on his arrival in England to take part, as the representative of the President of the United States, in the deliberations of the Supreme Council. The American Ambassador to France will be instructed to resume his place as unofficial observer on the Conference of Ambassadors, and Mr. Roland W. Boyden will be instructed to sit again in an unofficial capacity on the Reparations Commission.

The Government of the United States notes with pleasure your expression of the belief of the representatives of the

allied governments assembled in London, that American co-operation in the settlement of the great international questions growing out of the world war will be of material assistance.

#### HUGHES.

May 5 the Supreme Council, sitting in London, signed an ultimatum to expire at midnight on the 11th, the penalty of refusal being military invasion. The terms as to reparation called for 135,000,000,000 gold marks, as finally determined by the Reparations Commission. Such indemnity bonds as Germany may issue are to be secured by the entire assets of the republic and the confederated States, and as security for payment Germany assigns—

First. The proceeds of all German maritime and land duties and customs.

Second. The proceeds of the 25 per cent tax upon exports.

Third. The proceeds of such direct or indirect taxes or other funds as Germany may propose to the committee on guarantees and the committee shall approve.

The formal, official statement of the Council runs thus:

The allied powers, taking note of the fact that despite the successive concessions made by the Allies since the signature of the Treaty of Versailles and despite the warnings and sanctions agreed upon at Spa and Paris as well as of the sanctions announced at London and since applied, the German Government is still in default in fulfillment of the obligations incumbent upon it under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles as regards:

First, disarmament;

Second, the payment due May 1, 1921, under article 235 of the treaty, which the Reparations Commission already has called upon it to make at this date;

Third, the trial of war criminals as further provided for by the allied notes of February 13 and May 7, 1920, and

Fourth, certain other important respects, notably those which arise under articles 264 to 267, 269, 273, 321, 322, and 327 of the treaty:

Decide:

The allied powers have decided:

(a) To proceed from today with all necessary preliminary measures for the occupation of the Ruhr Valley by allied troops on the Rhine under the conditions laid down.

(b) In accordance with article 235 of the Versailles Treaty, to invite the Allied Reparations Committee to notify the German Government without delay of the time and methods for the discharge by Germany of her debt and to announce its decision on this point to the German Government by May 6 at the latest.

(c) To summon the German Government to declare categorically within six days after receiving the above decision its determination (1) to execute without reservation or condition its obligations as defined by the Reparations Commission; (2) to accept and realize without reservation or condition in regard to its obligations the guarantees prescribed by the Reparations Commission; (3) to execute without reservation or delay measures concerning military, naval, and aerial disarmament, of which Germany was notified by the allied nations in their note of January 29, those measures in the execution of which they have so far failed to comply with are to be completed immediately and the remainder on a date still to be fixed; (4) to proceed without reservation or delay to the trial of war criminals and also with other parts of the Versailles Treaty which have not as yet been fulfilled.

(d) To proceed on May 12 with the occupation of the Ruhr Valley and to undertake all other military and naval measures should the German Government fail to comply with the foregoing conditions. This occupation will last as long as Germany continues her failure to fulfill the conditions laid down.

After an interval of time crowded with crimination and recrimination and complex negotiations by the various

political parties and influential leaders, the Reichstag, on the 10th, by a vote of 221 to 175, voted to accept the terms laid down in the reparations' ultimatum; and under the leadership of Dr. Wirth, former Minister of Finance, a new Cabinet was formed, willing to carry out the terms of the agreement. Dr. Wirth is an able leader of the Center Party (Roman Catholic). In composition the Cabinet is of the coalition sort, made up of centrists, majority socialists, and democrats.

The text of Germany's formal acceptance of the terms imposed by the Allies and accepted by the Reichstag follows. It is the note as delivered to Great Britain, and that, when read to the House of Commons by the Premier, called forth rounds of cheers:

#### MR. PRIME MINISTER:

In accordance with instructions just received, I am commanded by my government, in accordance with the decision of the Reichstag and with reference to the resolutions of the Allied Powers of May 5, 1921, in the name of the new German Government, to declare the following:

The German Government is fully resolved, first, to carry out, without reserve or condition, its obligations as defined by the Reparations Commission.

Second, to accept and carry out, without reserve or condition, the guarantees in respect of those obligations prescribed by the Reparations Commission.

#### Acceptance Is Complete

Third, to carry out, without reserve or delay, the measures of military, naval, and aerial disarmament notified to the German Government by the Allied Powers in their note of January 29, 1921, those overdue to be completed at once and the remainder by the prescribed date.

Fourth, to carry out, without reserve or delay, the trial of war criminals and to execute the other unfulfilled portions of the treaty referred to in the first paragraph of the note of the Allied governments of May 5.

I ask the Allied powers to take note immediately of this declaration.

#### STHAMER.

Mr. Lloyd-George, in giving the terms of the reply to the Commons, said:

This is complete acceptance of every demand.

#### Objection to American Participation

On May 11, representing the element in the Senate that objects to any American participation in solution of European problems, Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, introduced the following resolution:

Whereas the President of the United States has accepted the invitation extended through the British Ambassador to designate representatives to attend upon the sessions and participate in the deliberations of the Supreme Council and the Reparations Commission, created to carry into effect and to enforce the terms of the Treaty of Versailles; and

Whereas the Treaty of Versailles is a crime born of blind revenge and insatiable greed, and constitutes a betrayal of the solemn promises of this government made to the world and formally accepted by the Allies as the basis of the peace terms; and

Whereas the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles or to give its sanction either to the League of Nations or to the unjust conditions of the treaty; and

Whereas the people of the United States, by an overwhelming majority in a great and solemn referendum, endorsed the action of the Senate in rejecting the said treaty; and

Whereas the Senate has by an overwhelming majority adopted a resolution declaring the war with Germany at an end; and

Whereas our participation in the deliberations of the Supreme Council may be accepted as an indorsement by the Government of the United States of the imperialistic policies which the members of the Supreme Council are now pursuing in Europe, Africa, and Asia, and as a sanction of the barbarous and uncivilized warfare which is now being waged against the people of Ireland, in contravention of the laws of warfare prescribed by The Hague Convention and in violation of the pledges solemnly made during the war that the rights of small nations should be recognized: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that it is contrary to American ideals and traditions for the Government of the United States to participate in any manner in councils, the purposes of which constitute a denial of freedom and self-government, and thus sanction, or appear to sanction, the acts of oppression which are now being inflicted upon Ireland, India, and other subject nations, and that it is the sense of the Senate that the Government of the United States should not take part in any foreign councils except upon the express understanding that the purposes of such councils are to be the fulfillment of the pledges made by the responsible representatives of this country and the allied governments during the war, foremost among which was the establishment throughout the world of government by consent of the governed.

## RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES

On March 23 rumor gave place to official publicity, and it was made known to the American public that the Russian Soviet Government had begun to make overtures to the United States along lines indicated by her agreement with Great Britain. The text of the communication follows:

REVAL, March 21, 1921.

*To the Congress of the United States and His Excellency, President Harding, Washington:*

Have the honor to transmit, as instructed by my government, following message.

LITVINOFF,  
Plenipotentiary, Representative of  
Russian Republic to Estonia.

MARCH 20.

From the first days of her existence Soviet Russia had nourished the hope of the possibility of a speedy establishment of friendly relations with the great republic of North America, and had firmly expected that intimate and solid ties would be created between the two republics, to the greater advantage of both. At the time when the Entente powers had begun their invasion of Soviet Russia unprovoked and without declaration of war, the Soviet Government repeatedly addressed itself to the American Government with the proposal to adopt measures for the cessation of bloodshed. Even when the American troops, together with the others, participated in the attack upon Soviet Russia, the Government of the Russian Republic still expressed the hope of a speedy change of America's policy towards her and demonstrated this by its particularly considerate treatment of the Americans in Russia. But President Wilson, who, without cause and without any declaration of war, had attacked the Russian Republic, showed, during his whole administration, a growing hostility towards the Russian Republic.

Soviet Russia hopes that the American Republic will not persist in obdurately following this path, and that the new American Government will clearly see the great advantage for the two republics of the re-establishment of business relations and will consider the interests of both peoples, which imperatively demand that the wall existing between them should be removed. The Soviet Republic, entirely absorbed in the work of internal reconstruction and of building up its economic life, has not the intention of intervening in the internal affairs of America, and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee makes herewith a cate-

gorical declaration to this effect. At the present time, after Soviet Russia has concluded treaties and established regular relations with numerous States, the absence of such relations with America seems to Soviet Russia particularly abnormal and harmful to both peoples. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee addresses to you the formal proposal of opening trade relations between Russia and America, and for that purpose the relations between the two republics have to be on the whole regularized.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee therefore proposes to send a special delegation to America, which will negotiate upon this matter with the American Government, in order to solve the question of business relations and of resumption of trade between Russia and America.

M. KALININ,  
*President of the All-Russian  
Executive Committee.*  
P. ZALUTSKY,  
*Secretary.*

## LENIN'S REPORTED CHANGE

The same day the State Department gave its approval to the following statement of its understanding as to the Soviet Government's alleged recent change of attitude toward capitalism, set forth in a speech of Lenin. It was to this effect:

The State Department has received advices corroborating published accounts of the speeches made by M. Lenin before the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party at Moscow, in which he asserted the necessity of making certain modifications in the application of Communist principles in Russia, at least temporarily.

Four of his proposals have to do with strictly internal affairs, and are:

- (1) More freedom must be effected in the exchange of goods among the people.
- (2) The peasants must be permitted to sell their farm products, and only a portion of them shall be delivered to the Soviet régime as a tax.
- (3) The operation and organization of smaller industries must be left to private initiative to some extent; and
- (4) Greater freedom must be allowed to the co-operative societies.
- (5) The fifth proposal is a repetition of a previously announced policy, the granting of concessions to foreign agencies with the right to export products.

## HUGHES BACKS COLBY

The Administration, through Secretary of State Hughes, was not long (March 25) in answering the communication from Russia, and it did it in terms following closely the model set by Secretary Colby for the last Administration. Following is the text:

The Government of the United States views with deep sympathy and grave concern the plight of the people of Russia and desires to aid by every appropriate means in promoting proper opportunities through which commerce can be established upon a sound basis. It is manifest to this Government that in existing circumstances there is no assurance for the development of trade, as the supplies which Russia might now be able to obtain would be wholly inadequate to meet her needs, and no lasting good can result so long as the present causes of progressive impoverishment continue to operate. It is only in the productivity of Russia that there is any hope for the Russian people, and it is idle to expect resumption of trade until the economic bases of production are securely established.

Production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition by firm guarantees of private property, the sanctity of contract, and the rights of free labor. If fundamental changes are contemplated, involving due regard for the protection of persons and property and the establishment of conditions essential to the maintenance of commerce, this Government will be glad to have convincing